

DOCUMENT RESUME

ED 318 645

SO 020 461

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TITLE Importing Educational Doctrines: A New Zealand Case Study.
PUB DATE Mar 89
NOTE 25p.; Paper presented at the Annual Meeting of the American Educational Research Association (70th, San Francisco, CA, March 1989).
PUB TYPE Speeches/Conference Papers (150) -- Reports - Descriptive (141) -- Historical Materials (060)
EDRS PRICE MF01/PC01 Plus Postage.
DESCRIPTORS Case Studies; *Educational History; Educational Philosophy; *Educational Policy; Educational Practices; Foreign Countries; Foundations of Education
IDENTIFIERS *New Zealand; Social Efficiency

ABSTRACT

Both educational policy and philosophy in New Zealand have been heavily influenced by the ideas and practices of other countries, particularly those of the United States. The U.S. idea of social efficiency, which became a central concern of New Zealand's educational policy makers in the 1920s, holds a prominent place in the history of education in New Zealand. An examination of government policies on education of the 1920s and the experiences of those closely associated with their implementation shows weaknesses in the traditional view of New Zealand's educational development. Historians generally hold that after a strong focus on social efficiency in the 1920s, educational policy-makers markedly shifted in the 1930s to egalitarian concerns. However, during the 1920s and the 1930s, it appeared that social efficiency was held up to New Zealand students of education as an important educational aim. Thus the view that the policies of the 1930s led to significant changes in the educational practices of schools should be met with extreme caution. More historical research needs to be devoted to reconstructing the experiences and understanding of New Zealand teachers rather than the familiar discussions of state policy. This document includes a 35-item bibliography. (DB)

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IMPORTING EDUCATIONAL DOCTRINES: A NEW ZEALAND CASE STUDY

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Paper Presented at the Annual Meeting of AERA

San Francisco, California

March 1989

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The school system of America furnishes a model of such a gradation of educational institutions as would seem to meet the requirements of our age and country, and even our home politicians at the present moment are not above taking a lesson upon this subject from Britain's saucy child. (Thomas Bowden, School Inspector, 1868)

New Zealand's intellectual dependence on the northern hemisphere has long been recognised. This dependence is hardly surprising given the country's colonial origins and its close relationship, historically, with Britain. Indeed it was only with the generation born after the second world war that the practice of referring to Britain as home ceased to be commonplace. The dependence has been particularly marked in the case of education. While local conditions have shaped the surface features of the education system, the underlying ideas have had their origin elsewhere. Even today senior administrators frequently turn to overseas "experts" for advice on educational matters.

However there has been surprisingly little reflection on these imported ideas and their impact. Historians have focussed on the actions of the men (and it has been almost exclusively men who have attracted the attention of historians) whose policies built and shaped New Zealand education. In the main they have strongly eschewed any analysis of the ideas which motivated these men. As a consequence the question of why some ideas have flourished while others have fallen on barren ground has been ignored or, at best, passed over in a sentence or two.

This paper will examine the response to educational ideas and practices which have been "imported" into New Zealand. But rather than looking at the influence of Britain, it will examine the impact of ideas which were primarily American in origin.

However in doing that, it is important to go beyond the impact on policy makers, which has been the sole focus of research for many historians. Histories of education which have largely ignored the role of teachers and even school principals, to say nothing of parents and community groups, have been the rule rather than the exception in New Zealand. This failure to look beyond the role of the state has been highlighted by McCulloch in a recent critique of New Zealand's educational historiography in which he suggested that

The reconstruction of practices, attitudes, opinions and ideologies at [the] local level seems a prerequisite to developing a social history of education in New Zealand, rather than one that is concerned mainly with the state or with elite policy. (McCulloch, 1988:11)

While arguably not confined to historians, the problem to which McCulloch alludes has undoubtedly arisen as a result of the centralised nature of educational administration in New Zealand. Decisions which in the United States would be left to individual schools or local school boards, have been the responsibility of the central Department of Education or one of the ten Education Boards, most of which administer the financial affairs of many hundreds of schools. As a consequence, it has been easy for those wishing to study education to assume that their task is

primarily one of examining the role of the state, for it is in the agencies of the state that decision making power has appeared to reside.

Centralisation has had another serious consequence for historians, one which has exacerbated the above problems. For it has meant that schools have had little impetus to develop and maintain records of the sort necessary to conduct the research for which McCulloch so correctly calls. Indeed many schools simply have no record of their past beyond that of living memory. In these circumstances there is little apart from the records of the state agencies upon which to rely. Unfortunately the records kept by these organisations are frequently of little help in answering the sorts of questions which historians of education may wish to ask. (1) Even sources such as newspapers are of only limited assistance in providing resources. For they too have focussed on educational debate at the level of the state and only infrequently paid attention to educational matters at a school or community level.

If one is to take up McCulloch's challenge, then often it will be necessary to rely on evidence which, at best, is circumstantial. Such is the case with this paper. The first section discusses the attempt by the government to make social efficiency the basis of educational policy during the 1920s. The predominant interpretation of the fate of these policies is that the government had only limited success in achieving its objectives. It has generally been held that these policies were superseded by others which stressed egalitarianism and that from the 1930s schools became increasingly concerned with providing a general education for all. It will be argued that at best such interpretations are limited. Those responsible have often simply assumed a concordance between government policy and school practice, and frequently have neglected even to look at what was occurring in schools. When one begins to look beyond the policy, then a rather different picture emerges.

The second section represents an attempt at going beyond policy and policy makers. It seeks to reconstruct the experience of teachers (though unfortunately not their understanding) of the ideas and practices associated with the educational policies of the 1920s, in an effort to assess the extent to which those ideas might have formed part of the discourse of teachers. On the basis of this it will be suggested that there are good grounds for regarding traditional conceptions of the development of New Zealand education from the 1920s as inadequate.

SECTION ONE

In 1899 George Hogben was appointed Inspector-General of Schools. Hogben is now remembered best for his revision of the primary school syllabus in 1904. Many elements of that syllabus, in particular its emphasis on adaptability, hint at the influence of what later became known as the progressive education movement but which was then developing in the United States. However, in the absence of any systematic study of the influences on Hogben at that time, this is no more than a possibility and Hogben's ideas could have been derived from a number of sources. It is possible however to be far more specific in respect of later

American influences on Hogben.

Early in 1907 Hogben left New Zealand on an extended overseas visit during which he travelled to Italy, Britain, France, Switzerland, Germany, Holland, Canada and the United States. In the last named, he visited schools and educational institutions in Boston, New York, Philadelphia, Baltimore, Washington and Chicago. Following the trip Hogben presented a detailed report to Parliament. (AJHR, 1908, E15)

Hogben was clearly impressed by what he saw in America. Indeed so taken was he that over half of his report was devoted to the American section of his trip. Among other things, he drew attention to the lack of examination pressures, the extent and nature of secondary schooling, the manner of developing order and discipline, which he felt to be particularly democratic, the standard of the majority of American universities as compared with New Zealand's, provisions for special education and technical and manual training, in particular domestic science (AJHR, 1908 E15:passim). He also gave considerable space in his report to a discussion of developments at both Teachers' College Columbia and Chicago University. This is interesting when one considers the subsequent impact of the work then being done at those institutions. However he did express some reservations about America's lack of a national system of education and what he considered the scantiness of "trade-training for the great mass of the workmen", though he seems to have been more than favourably impressed by what trade training he did see (AJHR, 1908 E15: passim).

Despite Hogben's strongly held view that New Zealand had much to learn from the United States, apart for some provision for special education and this not fully implemented until after his retirement, very little tangible change seems to have resulted from his visit. This has generally been seen as reflecting the changed political mood in the country on his return. (Roth 1952:126)

Thus whilst it is possible to point to an awareness of American ideas, it is less easy to find examples of these ideas affecting educational practices in any widespread or systematic manner. But there was one aspect of Hogben's report which seems to have been almost prophetic, that was his admiration for what he called the "American ideal of 'social efficiency'". (AJHR, 1908 E15:3) While nowhere did he make this totally explicit, a belief in the desirability of social efficiency, is implicit in all that he recommended as worthy of emulation.

The basic tenet of the ideal of social efficiency is that societies operate most effectively when individuals are properly allocated to the roles they perform. Most commonly the proper basis of that allocation is held to be the natural endowment or aptitudes of the individual. Under such a view one of the principal tasks of the school consists of sorting out and allocating individuals to the social roles for which, allegedly, they are best fitted.

It should be noted at this point that there is little evidence to suggest that for Hogben the attraction of this "American ideal"

had anything to do with any desire on his part to promote the aims of business. Rather he appears to have been attracted by the sense of order and purpose which he felt that such an ideal conferred on educational practice. The question of the assumptions underlying the acceptance of social efficiency as the aim of education will be discussed more extensively later in the paper.

Whether Hogben was instrumental in promulgating the ideal of social efficiency is unclear. However, as McKenzie has recently shown, by the 1920s social efficiency had become a central concern of educational policy makers and senior administrators in New Zealand. (McKenzie, 1988:82) Associated with this new concern was an increased willingness to promote educational practices which were closely associated with the efficiency movement in the United States.

In 1920 the Minister of Education, Parr, called for the establishment of schools with a specially devised curriculum which would cater for the needs of students who, to echo Bowen, the architect of compulsory education four decades earlier, were "destined to a life of honest labour". Such schools would be separate from existing academic and technical schools. What was needed Parr believed, was 'a central school of the type now being used in other countries'. (Evening Star, 28 October, 1920 cited in Faulds 1987)

Parr's concern in articulating such views was undoubtedly related to his belief that socialism, particularly in the wake of the Bolshevik revolution, posed a threat to the state. He hoped to use schools to counter that threat.

This is the time for the teaching of history, civics and economics, so that children will not fall an easy prey, as so many of the half-educated do today, to the 'soap-box' orators with their unsound doctrines. Education is not being carried far enough in this country for the safety of the democracy. (Otago Daily Times, 22 June, 1920)

Indeed during Parr's period as Minister, there were continual attempts to use the schools to promote patriotism. Even the Prime Minister, Massey, became a regular contributor to the School Journal, a magazine published by the Department of Education and distributed free to all schools. Massey's theme was invariably King, Country and Empire. However, such expressions of concerns mask, albeit shallowly, an underlying preoccupation with creating conditions conducive to the interests of business. Foremost amongst these is a compliant and efficient workforce. There are obvious parallels with prevailing American beliefs about education at this time and even if Parr didn't derive his beliefs from that source, it was in that direction he turned for ideas which would give substance to his policies. In the American junior high school Parr felt he saw the model for his 'central school'.

In 1921 Parr authorised two prominent educators, Milner and Wells to travel to the United States to study junior high schools, with a mind to the establishment of similar schools in New Zealand. Their reports were presented to Parliament in 1921 and 1922

respectively and the first such school, Kowhai Junior High School, opened in October 1922. The following year, in his annual report to Parliament, Parr made clear what he believed the task of these schools to be.

The curriculum has a more vocational or practical bent than that of the secondary school, and is intended to give a more complete training for industry and commerce. (AJHR, 1923, E1:3)

The role of the school in selection and allocation to social roles is clear. However enthusiasm for Parr's experiment was not without its opponents and for a number of years there was considerable ambivalence about what ought to be the function of junior high schools. The strongest opposition to Parr's policies came, as might be expected, from the Labour Party, then in opposition. Its spokesman on education, Fraser, who in 1935 would become Minister of Education, renounced Parr's policy as a thinly disguised attempt to condemn working class children to become 'hewers of wood and drawers of water for the wealthy'. (Parliamentary Debates, 1923, v.202:530) Clearly influenced by Tawney's Secondary Education for All he adamantly rejected any form of school whose prime function was to be the sorting out of children.

There is only one fair and safe course for the children of the Dominion and that is first of all to ensure that they have the fullest possible cultural education, including secondary education, before they determine upon their occupation (Parliamentary Debates, 1923, v.200:462)

For this reason Fraser also attacked intelligence testing which he saw as no more than a device to assist in the selective task of the junior high schools. Any use of intelligence testing to determine occupation would, he alleged, subject children to 'one of the greatest frauds and injustices ever perpetrated upon them' (Parliamentary Debates, 1924, v.204:883)

As Faulds (1988) has shown mental testing was indeed central to the enterprise of the junior high schools. In particular testing was used extensively to aid in the selection and sorting of children. However, outside of the junior high schools, the initial acceptance of testing seems not to have been widespread. As McKenzie has shown, (McKenzie, 1988) the first experiment in mass mental testing, which occurred on 29 February 1924 when Form A of the Terman Group Test was administered to all entrants to secondary school, gained little support either among teachers or the community. However, McKenzie's conclusion about the reason for this, that 'the New Zealand public was not going to accept school and course allocation on the basis of some new fangled test', (McKenzie, 1988:87) rather glosses over the fact that in 1924 teachers would generally have been unfamiliar with intelligence tests and the uses to which they might be put.

Fraser's also seems to have received some support from the then Director of Education, Caughley. In 1920 Caughley had chaired a committee to examine the curriculum of both primary and post-primary schools. He held strongly to the view that 'no child's education should be determined by the occupation to be followed'. (Otago Daily Times, 21 June, 1921 cited in Faulds,

The Labour party remained vociferous in its opposition and the slenderness of the Government's majority possibly meant that Parr's desire to push ahead rapidly with the development of the junior high schools did not receive strong support from the Prime Minister, Massey. Though there is little to suggest that Massey would have been opposed to Parr's policies on any point of principle. Nevertheless, the number of junior highs grew only slowly during the 1920s and the replacement of Parr as Minister of Education in 1926 has often been seen as marking the beginning of a shift away from the concerns of the Parr years. In his 1938 book on intermediate schools (the name by which the junior high had, by then, become known) Beeby claimed

...the portfolio of Education had passed from the Hon. Sir James Parr to the Hon R.A.Wright. Reading his Report, we get the vague suspicion that the Government's first love for the new school is waning. (Beeby, 1938:19)

On the following page he went on to note, 'In the 1927 Report we find our suspicions have been justified. All enthusiasm is dead.' (Beeby, 1938:20) Despite this, several new junior high schools were established in each of the subsequent years. Moreover, the 1928 Report of the Syllabus Revision Committee and the 1930 Report of the Parliamentary Recess Education Committee both supported some form of post-primary education in which, for the majority, the type of school attended would be a function of vocational destination.

Teachers' organisation also appear to have given support to the continuation of the junior high schools. In 1929 the annual conference of the primary teachers' union, the New Zealand Educational Institute, passed a resolution calling for the establishment of 'separate central schools' in all 'large towns'. (NZEI Annual Report, 1929:16-17 cited in Beeby, 1938:34)

However, in 1932 new regulations covering the junior high schools were issued. Henceforth they were to be regarded as primary schools, but mark a transition to secondary education, to this end they were renamed "intermediate schools". The period of attendance was reduced from three to two years.

There has been a strong tendency to see these changes as marking the beginning of the end for the "experiments" of the Parr years with their concern for social efficiency. In their place, it is alleged, emerged a new ideal of education, one which stressed egalitarianism and a general education for all. Generally this new ideal has been seen as culminating in the the educational policies of the Labour Government elected in 1935 and reaching full embodiment in the Report on the Post Primary Curriculum of 1942. Indeed it is not going to far to suggest that this has become an orthodoxy of New Zealand education. Dakin (1973) McLaren (1974) and Cumming nd Cumming (1978) all exemplify this view. However it is perhaps best expressed by Beeby (1986) and Renwick (1986). Even those who have been concerned to develop a radical critique of New Zealand's educational past [see for instance Shuker (1987), Faulds (1987) or McKenzie (1988)] have been reluctant to treat the educational policies of the 1930s as

anything but a significant departure from the policy concerns of the 1920s.

But are such views warranted? If one takes the statements of the policy makers at face value, then the answer to that question might be perhaps. However even that is problematic. For when one reads the comments on the new intermediate school regulations by the then Minister of Education, Masters, there is little evidence of any shift from a concern for social efficiency.

The aim of the intermediate school is to remove pupils at the age of eleven or twelve from the environment of the primary school and place them in separate schools or in departments attached to post-primary schools where they will be given the opportunity of displaying their natural aptitudes, inclinations and interests, and of indicating whether they should continue their education at a secondary school for academic or professional courses, or at a technical school for vocational courses in industry, commerce or the domestic arts. (AJHR 1933, E-1:3.)

Three years later the Director of Education, despite the election of the Labour Government, expressed a similar view

The intermediate school was a trying-out or exploratory school in which the bent of the child was determined,...at the end of two years an intermediate school teacher could judge what course a child should follow in the future. (Evening Post, 18 August 1936 cited in Beeby 1938)

Local circumstances had ensured some divergence from the American model and Parr's concern for business had disappeared, or at least was no longer to the fore, but the underlying rationale remained one of social selection. While it might be argued that these utterances reflect no more than the lingering remnants of the old policies, the same cannot so easily be claimed by Fraser's 1939 statement of his government's educational objectives. Generally it has been regarded as the archetypal expression the new ideal, allegedly so different to that espoused by Parr. However it might equally well be regarded as exemplifying a fuller expression of the educational doctrines which had developed alongside the ideal of social efficiency, in particular the concern for schools to play an active part in allocating student to their social roles according to some assessment of their natural abilities and aptitudes.

The Government's objective, broadly expressed, is that every person, whatever his level of academic ability, whether he be rich or poor, whether he live in town or country, has a right, as a citizen, to a free education of the kind for which he is best fitted, and to the fullest extent of his powers. (AJHR, 1939, E1:2-3 emphasis added)

Those who would see some major shift from the policies of Parr have frequently been guilty of presentism, for they have focussed on the discontinuities and all but ignored the continuities between past and subsequent events. In so doing the past is ruled almost irrelevant to understanding those subsequent events. However, for anyone concerned with understanding New Zealand's

educational past, this problem all but fades into insignificance compared with another, for by attending primarily to educational policy, historians have produced, not histories of education but histories of educational policy, flawed and all as they may be. All too frequently it has been assumed that practice will simply reflect the policies. Even the existence of debate and dissension over policies seems not to have led to any significant questioning of such assumptions. Nor does there seem to have been any realisation that dissension may have led to difficulties in implementing policies.

But a history of education must deal not only with policy, but with its implementation. Thus, even if one were to accept the contention that the educational policies of the 1930s increasingly marked a departure from those pursued by Parr a decade earlier, it would still be necessary to ask whether the implementation of those later policies was affected by the existence of any large measure of support for the earlier ones. In this case there is good reason to believe that such support was extensive.

Throughout the 1920s and 1930s, the business community was vociferous in calling for schools to play a greater part in vocational selection. A 1933 statement from the Wellington Chamber of Commerce expresses the views typically advanced.

Speaking generally, the children of unenlightened parents would not gain benefit from a longer period at school and it was a matter for serious consideration wheether, after passing the fourth standard, [age approx. 10-11] children of but moderate mental development should not be definitely prepared for the type of work for which their mental capacity and natural ability make them best suited. It might be that further education along general lines would not fit them for the modest role nature intended them to play in life. (The Sun, 8 December 1933 cited in Beeby 1986:xviii)

Generally the orthodox view on such pronouncements has been that they had little effect on the enlightened administrators of the 1930s, who recognised such antediluvian sentiments for what they were. Beeby (1986) illustrates this well, for having quoted the above passage, in the next sentence he observed 'This is an ageless statement; it could have been written in England during the Industrial or in South Africa today'. Such dismissals are not helpful. Even if one were to grant the enlightenment of policy makers, one is still left with the problem that the Chamber of Commerce remained part of the context in which the policies would be implemented and, potentially, a very influential part. Such views may not have influenced policy makers, but whether they had an influence on others is a different matter altogether.

But to come closer to the arena in which educational policies must achieve their full expression, the school. As was noted above, the primary teachers' union was generally supportive of the policy on junior high schools, this remained their position throughout the 1930s. Similarly, both the Secondary Schools Association and the Technical School Teachers' Association seem

to have supported the idea of the junior high school and opposed moves that could be seen as altering the aims of these schools. (Annual Reports STA 1930-6, cited in Beeby 1938:31-36) However this brings us no closer to the schools themselves, for while such organizations may represent the views of teachers, they provide little insight into their discourse. To begin to assess the fate of the policies of the 1920s and their impact on education in New Zealand, the question that must be asked is: To what extent did the idea of social efficiency form part of the discourse of teachers during the 1920s and 1930s?

SECTION TWO

To provide anything approaching a comprehensive answer to the question just posed is difficult. Most of the written materials to which one would need access, teachers work plans, school schemes etc, are now most likely to be mouldering at the bottom of rubbish dumps and few of the teachers of the 1920s, the youngest of whom are now in their late seventies, are still available to act as informants.

However, in the twenty plus years between the first experiments with junior high schools and the second world war, an entire generation of New Zealand teachers had been trained. To what ideas had they been exposed? An examination of the curriculum for trainee teachers during this period might throw some light on the ideas about education then current among New Zealand teachers.

Unfortunately the teachers' colleges have not kept comprehensive records of their curricula and even lists of prescribed texts are incomplete. (2) However, it was not unusual for trainee teachers to be enrolled in education courses at university and fortunately the university records are more complete.

Throughout the period in question, university education in New Zealand was under the aegis of the University of New Zealand. What are now Auckland, Victoria, Canterbury and Otago Universities, were then constituent colleges of the University of New Zealand. The latter published an annual calendar containing a prescription for each subject. Each of the colleges published a calendar giving details of each of the courses drawn up under the various prescriptions, together with a list of prescribed texts. This material provided the basis for exploring the questions posed above.

While the syllabus was set by the University of New Zealand, apart from several "educational classics" prescribed annually in the syllabus, the choice of texts seems to have been a matter left to the discretion of each college. It should be noted however that throughout this period, examinations for the University of New Zealand were set and marked in Britain.

Education first became a subject examinable by the University in 1907. Over the next several years, lecturers in education were appointed in each of the constituent colleges. It appears that until about 1920 the practice was to appoint the principal of the local teachers' training college as an honorary lecturer. After that date the two positions increasingly became separated, with

several of the principals resigning to accept permanent positions with the University.

Unfortunately it proved impossible to locate any lecture notes or course material prepared by those teaching during this period. Only one of these people, Dr C.E.Beeby, who was later to become New Zealand's Director of Education and to whom reference has already been made, is still living. His comments, made while reflecting on the impact on New Zealand of Carnegie philanthropy, provide an idea of the isolation and dependence experienced by New Zealand academics. They also give a sense of the avidity with which overseas ideas were seized.

It is difficult for anyone who did not experience the intellectual isolation of New Zealand in the 1920s to grasp the full significance of the Carnegie Corporation to the quality of life of my generation. ... Scholarly visitors to this country were rare; for the most part we met overseas writers only on the spines of books, where almost every scholar is at his best ... Whats more, the very people who were writing our textbooks were also marking our examination papers ... we developed an unhealthy sense of reverence for the unchallenged authority of men (no women as I remember) whom most of us would never see. To quote an authority was to win an argument. (Beeby, 1986:40-41)

Turning then to the prescriptions. What is immediately striking is the change in the conception of both the aim and process of education. The shift occurred within a decade and was largely completed by 1922. It is perhaps best seen in the syllabus prescriptions for first year education courses which remained essentially unchanged from 1922 until after the second world war. [The first year prescriptions are printed as an appendix to this paper]

In the first syllabus, that of 1907, the focus was clearly on education as the intellectual and physical development of the child and the psychology which was seen as providing a basis for that process was still predominantly the 'faculty psychology' of the nineteenth century.

The syllabus was revised for 1916. It gives a strong indication of an increased concern with the social purposes of education. This became even more marked in 1922, when what had previously been the History of Education paper was replaced by one entitled 'Education in relation to the development of the race, the individual and society'.

This shift was accompanied by a clear desire to make psychology, at least that version of psychology held to be informed by principles of natural science, the basis of educational thought and practice. In 1930 the dominant place of science and psychology in the study of education was made even clearer when the following regulation was added to the second year prescription.

The candidate will be required to forward to the Registrar before the examination, a certificate from a teacher of education in a constituent college, to the effect

that the candidate has completed to the satisfaction of the teacher, at least 80 hours practical work in experimental education; provided that for a candidate who has completed the course in Experimental Psychology as required for the degree of Bachelor of Arts or Bachelor of Science an aggregate of at least 50 hours shall be required in subjects not included in the subject of Experimental Psychology. (Calendar of the University of New Zealand 1930)

The texts prescribed for the course in experimental education, most commonly Rusk's Experimental Education, make it clear that the promotion of a "scientific" approach to education was the principle aim. The following year, the hegemony of psychology was further extended with the addition of the following regulation.

No candidate shall present himself for examination in Education II unless he has kept terms in Psychology.

(Calendar of the University of New Zealand 1931)

If the so-called basics of education itself, reading, writing and arithmetic, can be termed the 3 Rs, then the basics of the study of education, at least as it came increasingly to be presented in prescriptions for university courses in New Zealand, might be called the 3 Ss, Science, Psychology and Social Efficiency (the latter could as easily be characterised as socialization or social purpose depending on one's disposition). An examination of the prescribed text books, which in the absense of any other material are the only guide to the content of the courses, also bears this out.

Altogether 176 different books by 127 authors were prescribed during the period 1907-1945. Table One shows the country of origin of these books.

TABLE ONE: COUNTRY OF ORIGIN TO 1940

	BOOKS	%	AUTHORS	%
BRITAIN	105	60	75	59
UNITED STATES	58	33	43	34
NEW ZEALAND	6	3	4	3
CANADA	3	<2	1	<1
AUSTRALIA	1	<1	1	<1
FRANCE	1	<1	1	<1
ITALY	1	<1	1	<1
AUSTRIA	1	<1	1	<1
TOTAL	176	100	127	100

Table Two provides a slightly better indication of the relative influence of texts from various countries. It records not only the number of books, but the number of times they were prescribed.

TABLE TWO: NUMBER OF TIMES BOOKS PRESCRIBED TO 1940 BY COUNTRY

		%
BRITAIN	1085	60
UNITED STATES	565	31
NEW ZEALAND	15	<1
CANADA	111	6
AUSTRALIA	6	<1
FRANCE	15	<1
ITALY	4	<1
AUSTRIA	1	<1
TOTAL	1802	100

However these tables are of only limited value for they fail to differentiate between texts used only once and those prescribed over a long period. When the data was broken down further, it was found that the number of authors whose books were used over long periods was actually quite small. Indeed, overall, less than 20% of the 127 authors accounted for 65% of the texts. The disparity is even more marked with the American texts, in that case, 14% of the authors were responsible for over 70% of the books. This allowed the number of books to be reduced to a manageable size. By invoking as a further criterion, that a text had to be prescribed by at least two colleges, the number of texts which could be held to have been widely influential, was reduced to about thirty. Tables Three and Four provide details.

TABLE THREE: AUTHORS PRESCRIBED MORE THAN 20 TIMES TO 1940,
BY COUNTRY

	NO. OF TIMES	NO. OF BOOKS
BRITAIN:		
FINDLAY	152	5
RUSK	82	3
NUMM	81	1
ADAMS	56	4
RAYMONT	41	3
BALLARD	40	2
THOMSON, J.A.	38	2
DREVER	36	3
DICKINSON	34	1
FREEMAN	31	1
MACIVER	28	3
SICHEL	23	1
THOMSON, G.H.	20	2
TOTAL	662	
UNITED STATES:		
SMITH	89	1
DEWEY	75	4
HENDERSON	51	2
TERMAN	45	2
MONROE	44	2
JAMES	43	3
GRAVES	28	2
BODE,	22	1
TOTAL	397	
CANADA:		
SANDIFORD	111	3

THE TOP THIRTY EDUCATION TEXTS 1907-1945

Author	Title	Publication date	Year First Prescribed	Last Year Prescribed	Total No. Courses for which book prescribed.	No. first Year courses for which prescribed.	No. Dip Ed courses for which book prescribed	Country
Nunn	Education: Its Date and First Principles	1920	1921	1945 +	106	73	13	UK
Smith	An Introduction to Educational Sociology	1917	1923	1945 +	94	68	4	US
Findlay	The School	1911	1916	1945 +	73	69	4	UK
Sandiford	The Mental and Physical Life of School Children	1913	1914	1940	67	62	5	CANADA
Monroe	A Brief Course in the History of Education *	1905/7	1910	1945 +	66	4	44	US
Dewey	Democracy and Education	1916	1920	1945 +	61	9	0	US
Rusk	Experimental Education	1921	1921	1942	60	0	29	UK
Ballard	Mental Tests	1920	1927	1945 +	56	0	36	UK
Henderson	Textbook on the Principles of Education	1910	1914	1945 +	54	34	9	US
Freeman	The Schools of Hellas	1903	1922	1945 +	52	0	24	UK
Dickinson	The Greek View of Life	1896	1930	1945 +	51	0	0	UK
Terman	Hygiene of the School Child	1914	1923	1945 +	48	44	4	US
Raymont	Principles of Education	1904	1907	1945 +	47	4	41	UK
Tiegs and Crawford	Statistics for Teachers	1930	1936	1945 +	41	0	18	US
Sichel	The Renaissance	1914	1930	1945 +	38	0	0	UK
Sandiford	Educational Psychology	1928	1929	1945 +	35	7	1	CANADA
Adams	Evolution of Educational Theory	1912	1913	1945 +	32	3	0	UK
Findlay	Introduction to Sociology	1920	1922	1945 +	32	0	0	UK
Thomson, G.	A Modern Philosophy of Education	1929	1931	1945 +	29	10	0	UK
Findlay	Foundations of Education	1925	1927	1945 +	27	0	12	UK
Jones	Talks to Teachers	1899	1907	1929	25	25	0	US
Thomson, J.	The Control of Life	1921	1929	1945 +	25	25	0	UK
Quick	Essays on Educational Reform	1868	1907	1945 +	24	18	0	UK
Graves	History of Education	1910	1920	1938	23	1	21	US
Issacs	The Children we Teach	1932	1938	1945 +	22	21	0	UK
Webb	The Control of Education in New Zealand	1937	1939	1945 +	21	0	0	NZ
Beeby	The Intermediate Schools of New Zealand	1938	1939	1945 +	19	0	0	NZ
Boyd	The History of Western Education	1921	1932	1940	18	0	9	UK
Burt	The Subnormal Mind	1935	1940	1945 +	18	0	0	UK
Adams	Herbartian Psychology	1897	1908	1920	17	11	0	UK

*For the purposes of this table, this book and a longer version, Textbook in the History of Education have been treated as a single volume.

+Indicates book still in use in 1945 and which may have been prescribed after this date.

But such lists tell one nothing about the content of the books. In the first place, despite the considerable number of books by American authors on the list, the true extent of American influence is actually disguised, as many of the non-American authors dealt extensively with the work of American authors. For instance, the books by Sandiford draw almost exclusively on American sources while in Rusk's book, half of the 270 separate articles he cited were by American authors. Similarly, Ballard's Mental Tests and a companion volume Group Tests of Intelligence, were concerned primarily with promoting American developments in educational testing. While Nunn, the author of the single most widely prescribed text, and Findlay, by a considerable margin the most widely prescribed author, were both important popularisers of American ideas in Britain. Findlay has even been described as Dewey's 'most important interpreter in England'. (Selleck, 1968:208)

But what of the content of these books? The impression of the emergence of a new conception of the relationship between natural science and education which the course prescriptions conveyed is also borne out by many of the texts. The view that natural science, by providing a more certain foundation for psychology, could provide the basis for all future educational development was strongly advanced. This was often portrayed as ushering in a new era in education. For instance, in the conclusion to Experimental Education, Rusk quotes two other psychologists to assist in making just that point.

We have now reached a point in educational enlightenment where opposition to the scientific method must be frankly pronounced a prejudice" [Swift]. "The essential thing is for all the world to understand that empiricism has had its day, and that methods of scientific precision must be introduced into all educational work" [Binet]. ... The multiplication of quotations in this strain would not increase the force of the argument. The day is past when it is possible for teachers to accept unquestioned and act on generalisations derived from an unanalysed experience. The aspirations of Pestalozzi and others after a scientific method are now coming to be realised; and the instruments are being fashioned which, when applied, will place the science of education on a sure basis. (Rusk, 1934:333)

Others advanced similar views. In the preface to his Educational Psychology, Sandiford began by claiming that

At the present time the world of experience can be rather sharply divided into two parts - the world of science and the world of belief. In the former are included physics, chemistry, biology and the other sciences which confine themselves to experimental and verifiable data. ... Psychology, unfortunately persisted in the medieval tradition. ... In recent times, however, a serious attempt to bring it within the world of science has been made. The binding shackles of speculation have not been wholly removed; in fact, the subject has been cleft in two, one part remaining under the banner of the introspective metaphysician, the other boldly unfurling the flag of scientific freedom. (Sandiford, 1929:vii)

Sandiford believed that this alone would lead to the improvement of education.

In a similar vein Ballard, in Mental Tests, extolled the virtues of measurement, which in his view lay at the basis of all science. "We need objective measurements recognised by all as final and unassailable" (Ballard 1920:xi). Only when such measurements were available would education be put on a sound footing.

Some of the writers backed several horses. For instance, Raymont devoted much of a chapter to: "the question whether there is or indeed can be, a science of education truly so called". (Raymont 1920) His conclusion was that education itself was an ART, but that like other arts, he cited medicine and surgery as examples, it could make extensive use of science and consequently it could also be considered an "applied science".

In Education - Its Data and First Principles, Nunn adopted a similar position. Beginning with a quotation from Aristotle to the effect that, "Every art is thought to aim at some good". He continued, "now education, as we shall consider it in this book, is certainly an art". But Nunn spent much of the book discussing questions relating to the place of science in education, which is hardly surprising for a man who also wrote a treatise on Einstein's theory of relativity and several science texts. While his view was that there are limitations to the contribution that natural science can make to education, that contribution is still substantial and certainly far greater than had been the case to date.

One book on the list, The Control of Life, had little direct concern with education. Its author, J.Arthur Thomson, was prominent not as an educational thinker, but as a biologist. He was also one of the most prolific popularisers of science of the first half of the century. The extensive use of this book at Auckland and Victoria Colleges and a companion volume, The Gospel of Evolution, at Otago, may reflect the continuing influence of eugenics on educational thought during much of this period. Evidence of this influence is also to be seen in the syllabus statements of the 1920's with their references to "race development".

Given this concern with science, one name is perhaps conspicuous by its absence, that of Thorndike. While several of his books were prescribed during this period, they seem not to have been widely used. However, in many of the works listed in Table Four, extended reference is made to Thorndike and his exemplification of what was regarded as being necessary if education was to be placed on a proper scientific footing. Several authors acknowledge a debt to him in their prefaces and introductions and Sandiford's The Mental and Physical Life of School Children begins: "To my former teacher Edward L. Thorndike this book is gratefully inscribed".

As with Rusk above, one could go on multiplying quotations without adding further to the argument. The concern with the relationship between science and education was to be found throughout the books. Even where there was some ambivalence

over the possibility that science alone could provide an adequate basis for all educational decisions, as in the books by Dewey, Nunn and Findlay, there was considerable discussion of the appropriate limits of science. At the very least the issue was presented to the reader as one which it was important to consider. Alongside this promotion of a "scientific" approach to education and frequently presented as a necessary consequence of such an approach, was a concern for social efficiency.

Thus in Henderson's Textbook on the Principles of Education the reader is informed that the new scientific age had made "personal culture" an outmoded aim of education. For Henderson a new aim was called for, one which stressed "efficiency" and what he termed "adjustment to social conditions".

We have agreed to characterize the aim of education as efficiency, as adjustment. The process of education will therefore be that by means of which the individual is brought into adaptation with his environment or readjusted (Henderson, 1920:27)

Writing of what should most concern the teacher, he observed.

The vital consideration is whether he is learning to do those things which will make him as an adult one who in the judgement of the world is an efficient man and citizen. ... We must be adjusted to [the] spiritual, [the] social environment in order to succeed, to be efficient. To find what education should aim to do we must study the specific problems that time, place and circumstance will bring to confront the graduates of our schools. ... The teachers must study the natures of their pupils, not primarily to find out what there is to be brought to realisation, but rather to discover to what uses they can be put.

(Henderson, 1920:17-18)

But Henderson is by no means the only author on the list to express such a concern for social efficiency. Terman's advocacy of social efficiency is widely known and it should come as no surprise to find that in The Hygiene of the School Child, this was brought to the fore early on. Indeed, in the opening paragraph, Terman identified efficiency as the principle factor in promoting hygiene in the school and thus, the rationale for his book.

The rapid development of health work in the schools during the last two decades is not to be regarded merely as an educational reform, but rather as the corollary of a widespread realization of the importance of preventive measures in the conservation of natural and human resources. The prevention of waste has become, in fact, the dominant issue of our entire political, industrial, and educational situation. (Terman, 1914:3)

Burt's espousal of doctrines of efficiency is similarly well known and while The Subnormal Mind is primarily a technical treatise designed to advance abnormal psychology, there is in it an underlying concern with efficiency. It was not only the pursuit of individual well being that, for Burt, made a study of

abnormal psychology vital.

Abnormal psychology, or, as I should prefer to term it, the psychology of the subnormal, thus offers a vast and fertile field for scientific investigation. In the interests not only of the individual, but also of society, it calls imperatively for further study. (Burt, 1935:342)

Sandiford presented a similar view. The Mental and Physical Life of School Children opens with a chapter entitled "Heredity and Environment", the conclusion which was drawn from the discussion of this topic was that schools must promote social efficiency and prevent waste

A much more subtle analysis of the capacities of children is needed in schools in order to prevent the waste of much valuable time and effort. (Sandiford, 1928:25)

Presumably this also involved the school in sorting out children on a racial basis, for the following paragraph contained this observation

But it must be remembered that small racial differences have profound social significance. A slight mental superiority makes a ruling and dominating race: a slight inferiority may, and does, condemn a whole race to be "hewers of wood and drawers of water." (Sandiford, 1928:25)

Sandiford also discussed the need for regular medical inspection of school children and amongst the reasons advanced was that "disease and defect", apart from meaning "suffering and and incapacity," also lead to "inefficiency" (Sandiford, 1928:67).

In his book on the efficiency movement in the United States, Callahan observed that "perhaps the individual who did most to contribute to the conception of education as a business and the school as a factory was Cubberly". (Callahan, 1962:152). In New Zealand, Cubberly's History of Education was the only one of his books ever prescribed, and that only for the Dip.Ed course at Victoria from 1923-26. However, he was the editor of "The Riverside Textbooks in Education", a series which included the books of both Terman and Smith as well as a number of others not in the "top thirty". In his introduction to these books Cubberly frequently expressed his concern for the social purposes of education. In the editor's introduction to Smith's An Introduction to Educational Sociology, he wrote enthusiastically of the "new science of sociology" and the insights and opportunities he felt it offered for the study of education. Now sociology as well as psychology would benefit from an attention to the principles of natural science and in turn these benefits would flow on to education.

The problem of the school, from this new point of view is how it may best organize and administer itself with a view to rendering the largest service to the State in the training of both individuals and groups. The school, acting as the agent and servant of the State, thus becomes the chief constructive force for the improvement of society and the advancement of the public welfare. (Cubberly, 1917:vi)

There can be few doubts about what Cubberly had in mind!

For most New Zealand education students, Smith's book was probably their first introduction to sociology. The sociology found within its covers however, differed greatly from what passes by that name today. Virtually ignoring everything apart from American material, it most closely resembles a civics textbook and seems to have been concerned to do little more than convince the reader of the virtues inherent in American forms of social organisation. Throughout the book the view that sociology points to the need for social efficiency is strenuously advanced. Space permits only a single example here.

The individual is not the only end. Society must form another. The individual must not only be personally efficient; he must be socially efficient....Education must train the individual for membership in the family, the State, the Church, the club, and the business world no less than make him an effective thinker and athlete. (Smith, 1917:13)

Even history texts promoted this a view. Monroe's, A Brief Course in the History of Education traverses all of western history (and by using a typology of human societies derived directly from Morgan, the history of much else as well), to arrive at the conclusion that education

...is the process of conforming the individual to the given social standard or type in such a manner that his inherent capacities are developed, his greatest usefulness and happiness obtained, and, at the same time, the highest welfare of society is conserved. (Monroe, 1907:406-7)

In Democracy and Education, Dewey rejected some versions of social efficiency, but still retained social efficiency as an aim of education. But as noted above in relation to the role of science, such ambivalence over social efficiency as an educational aim, would, at the very least, have served to alert the readers to the importance of the issue in current educational thought.

Dewey's view was that social efficiency, if it was derived from a commitment to scientific principles, rather than from a desire to make education a business, was to be regarded as an educational aim. This was a view with which the majority of the authors discussed in this paper would probably have agreed. While social efficiency was clearly advocated in many of the texts, there is little to suggest that the application of business models to education was regarded as anything other than a peripheral issue. For in the texts examined it was scientific method which dictated the concern for efficiency.

This is hardly surprising, for if science is regarded as being a method for gaining knowledge of nature, then to accept also that it can provide a basis for social or educational judgements, is to assert that human beings must be understood as a part of nature. As a consequence, any differences between individuals are to be regarded as prescribed, or at least formed, by nature. The existence of naturally occurring differences will mean that

different people will be capable of different things. In such circumstances, all that an educator can do is recognize the natural differences between human beings and take them into account. Thus sorting and allocation of individuals on the basis of their alleged natural differences, comes to be regarded as the central task of education, almost a prerequisite to education. Indeed, to do otherwise would be unjust in that it could result in placing demands upon individuals which, as a consequence of nature, something over which they have little or no control, they are incapable of satisfying. It is but a short step from there to social efficiency. The view of human beings just outlined is in fact implicit in the desire to apply business principles to education. It was precisely such a view which led Taylor to apply so called scientific principle to business in the first place. It is the commitment to the view that scientific method provides the best guiding light for human action, upon which an advocacy of social efficiency ultimately rests.

During the 1920s and 1930s it appears that social efficiency was held up as an important educational aim to New Zealand students of education. While it may not have been presented in precisely the manner understood by Parr when he made social efficiency the basis of his policies, the underlying principles were the same. Thus if one accepts the rather problematic view that from the 1930s New Zealand's educational policies were increasingly based upon a rejection of social efficiency, the extensive exposure of trainee teachers to that ideal raises problems with the traditional interpretation of New Zealand education. At the very least, it points to the need for extreme caution in the face of claims that the "new" (?) policies of the 1930s led to significant changes in the educational practices of schools.

Whether the students who took the courses and read the books ever accepted the ideas is another matter altogether, as anyone who has prescribed a text or taught a course will readily appreciate. Even more problematic is whether these ideas were significant in shaping teachers' understanding of their role. For the historian such questions simply highlight the necessity of extending the scope of research to take much greater account of teachers, for their understanding of education may have varied considerably from that of policy makers. Of course one might simply decide that the policies of the 1930s indicate no significant discontinuities with the earlier ones. However, that would only make the need for research even more urgent, if only to explain the prevalence of the contrary view.

To point to the existence of problems in the interpretation of New Zealand's educational past has been easy. Taking the next step of reconstructing the experience and understanding of teachers is, given the dearth of resources, rather more daunting. But only by taking that step will New Zealand scholars begin to produce histories of EDUCATION, rather than the all too familiar discussions of state policy.

NOTES

1. A single example illustrates this problem well. Several years ago I was attempting to collect curriculum material from the 1930s to use in a course. I contacted a number of local schools but invariably the response was: "We don't have the space to store such material, if it accumulates we throw it out, but contact the Education Board, we do sometimes send things to them."

I duly phoned the Education Board.

"Yes, sometimes we are sent material by schools."

"What about curriculum material?"

"Yes, sometimes that comes to us, but we only keep important records."

"Such as?"

"Oh, things like old school accounts or attendance records. The other stuff we send to the dump, nobody would ever have any use for it."

2. Again, a single example will illustrate this problem. While carrying out the research for this paper, I visited three of the four Teachers' Colleges which were in existence in the 1920s. In one I spent two days searching through dozens of boxes of jumbled papers. In none of them did I find any papers relating to what had been taught in the college during the period in which I was interested. For any researcher interested in the financial history of the institution, there was a wealth of material. There was even over 30 pages of correspondence relating to the purchase in 1929 of an urn in which to boil water for tea and coffee. But no records had survived to interest researchers concerned with the content of teacher training in this institution half a century ago!

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